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clusters; in the western steppe, i.e., among the Kalmuks and Kazakh-Kirgis, the village is deployed in the form of a broad arc open to the south, or in a straight line.

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The family is patriarchal: authority rests in the father, the senior male in the eldest generation of the household; marriage is patrilocal, wives come into the family of the husband. Polygyny occurs, in fact it is desired, but it is rare, to be undertaken only by those who can afford it, or who undertake it in the hope of assuring male issue and the continuation of the line. The steppe family is an extended family; that is, the family into which a son is born, and the family which he raises are one and the same, and there is usually an unbroken continuum of at least three generations: one generation past fertility, one child-bearing generation, and its offspring. Sometimes, if personality and wealth factors permit, this community may even include cousins who are sons of brothers, together with their children, making four generations and/or their progeny united in one family enclosure; but this, too, is rare. Nevertheless it is a valued situation, a desideratum, just as polygyny is.

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The wife in such a family structure has a double relationship, for her family of procreation is not that into which she was born, and she retains special ties to her natal family throughout her life. These ties are revealed by the special term which she uses in referring to

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her natal kin; this term is not the one used by her husband, and is one of the few instances of sex-specific kin terms; they are revealed in the relationship between her offspring and her brother, one of the very few aspects of cognatic relationship in an otherwise agnatic structure. The wife may seek the support of her own consanguines if she is ill-treated or divorced. The rule of patrilocal residence produces an oscillation in the adherence of the wife which need not exhibit itself ordinarily, but which comes forward when normal relationships threaten to break down.

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The extended family mirrors the corporate structure of the lineage: in theory it never dies, because it survives the life-span of any individual member; it has a clearly defined locus of authority, and in this respect is a purer type of corporate structure than is the steppe lineage; it has automatic rules of membership through birth, and rules of admission to membership through adoption such that the adopted son has the same social status as a natal son.

The extended family, like the patrilineage, is founded upon the principle of unilineal descent and agnatic relationship, i.e., it is composed of direct male descendants of a given man, close collateral kin, their wives and offspring. The conjugal families of which it is formed, on the other hand, are bilateral in structure,[29] for they are

[29] Lowie, Primitive Society, 111.